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Civil War Episodes

Fort Sumter

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

Signature.

The President's Reply to the Virginia Commissioners.

WASHINGTON, April 13.—The reply of President Lincoln to the Virginia Commissioners repeats his purpose to hold, occupy, possess property and places belonging to the Government, and collect duties on imports, but not to use force, except when necessary for this object. "An unjustifiable assault has been upon Sumter. I shall repress it if I can, and take places which have been seized. I shall to the best of my ability, repel force by force. If the war news proves true, I shall probably withdraw the mails from the seceded States. I consider the forts and other property in these States yet belong to the United States. I shall not attempt to collect duties by armed invasion. I don't mean to say, however, that I may not land forces to relieve Forts." He reaffirms the inaugural, except about mails. *Chas. J. Folger*

BY TELEGRAPH
TO THE *March 16, 1861*
BOSTON DAILY EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

NO DECISION IN REGARD TO THE EVACUA-
TION OF FORT SUMTER.

THE BOSTON POST OFFICE.

THE POLICY OF THE PRESIDENT.

Opposition to the Montgomery Con-
stitution in South Carolina.

MOVEMENT OF U. S. VESSELS.

NEW YORK, 16th.

The Times Washington despatch says the Cabinet has come to no decision on the question of evacuation of Fort Sumter, in opposition to which movement very strong arguments are made. Recent letters from Major Anderson resent with indignation, the insinuations against his disposition to hold Fort Sumter to the last extremity.

Petitions have arrived from Boston signed by merchants representing fifty millions capital, in favor of Mr. Pangborn for Postmaster.

A despatch from Columbus, Ohio, announces that after 29 ballots in the Republican caucus for candidate for Senator, Mr. Sherman was withdrawn, but will probably be brought forward again stronger than before.

The Herald has intelligence from Charleston which represents that there exists a pretty strong party in South Carolina opposed to ratifying the Montgomery Constitution, and who will resist it at every point.

The Confederate Government has appointed W. L. Yancey, P. A. Rost, A. Dudley Mann, and F. Butler King, commissioners to England and France, to obtain the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States, and to make such commercial arrangements as their joint interests may inspire.

Steamers Mohawk and Crusader have gone to the Gulf.

Revenue vessels will be added to the fleet, which will augment it to a respectable coast guard.

Steamer Philadelphia will probably be used in case of the evacuation of Fort Sumter, to bring the garrison to Point Comfort.

The Tribune's correspondent says the shot fired at Fort Sumter was the result of a deliberate plan to try Major Anderson's temper, and the statement that it was accidental is an unflattering lie.

The Tribune's Washington despatch says Major Anderson's last statement to the War Department was that his stock of bread had been reduced to 14 days' supply, and of rice to 23 days. With other supplies he might maintain himself a month.

The Montgomery correspondent of the New York Tribune says the South believes that the only thing that will satisfy the North is for the former to prove its ability to maintain its independence by force of arms, and it is willing to do so. The impost on negroes imported from the Border States will probably be 30 per cent.

The Herald despatch says that a member of the Virginia Convention called on the President today. The latter assured him that no vessel had been sent South with hostile intentions, that nothing would be done in regard to affairs in the South for sixty days, and that it was his purpose to restore peace and prevent the shedding of blood.

Doctor Thomas of Dubuque has been tendered the mission to Bogota.

Intelligence from Baltimore asserts that it is the intention of the Secessionists there to resist any Republicans taking possession of Government offices in Baltimore to the last.

*Booth
transcript*

DAY, APRIL 15, 1861.

POSTSCRIPT!

FOUR O'CLOCK, P. M.

LATEST BY TELEGRAPH.

FROM CHARLESON.

The Government Fleet still off the Port.

Charleston, 15th. When Major Anderson's quarters were burning. Gen. Beauregard sent offers of assistance before a white flag was run up. Mr. Wigfall received Major Anderson's sword and returned it. The fleet is still in sight off the port.

FROM MONTGOMERY.

Montgomery, 15th. Mr. Toombs has received a despatch from Messrs. Breckinridge and Magoffin of Kentucky, stating that the people are greatly excited and sympathizing with the people of South Carolina.

Seven thousand men of the border States are under arms, and ready to move at a moment's order from the War Department at Montgomery.

Jefferson Davis's answer to the President proclamation is rough and curt:

"Fort Sumter is ours, and nobody hurt. With mortar, Paixhan and petard, we tender old Abe our Beau-regards."

**President Davis' answer to President
Lincoln's Proclamation.**

MONTGOMERY, April 15.

Pres't Davis's answer to President Lincoln's
proclamation is rough and curt. It is as fol-
lows:

"Fort Sumter is ours and no body is hurt,
with mortar, Paixhan and Petard we tender
Old Abe our Beau-regards."

Answered
4/14/11

BY TELEGRAPH
TO THE *Apr. 19, 1861*
BOSTON DAILY EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

THE EXPEDITION TO CHARLESTON.

**The Way the President Received
the News.**

PUBLIC OPINION IN OHIO.

**Probable Attempt to Reinforce
and Provision Fort Sumter
Last Night.**

NEW YORK, April 18th.

The Washington correspondent of the Tribune says that Captain Fox commands the vessel with provisions which is to lead the expedition into Charleston Harbor.

The Herald despatch says the President received the news from Charleston calmly, and with the confident feeling that he had done his whole duty.

Despatches from Col. Waite, commander of the Texas forces, state that a strong Union feeling is growing there. Governor Houston predicts the return of the secessionists to allegiance. They are terribly taxed. Gov. Houston has been offered armed support by the Germans in every part of the State, but refused to accept it.

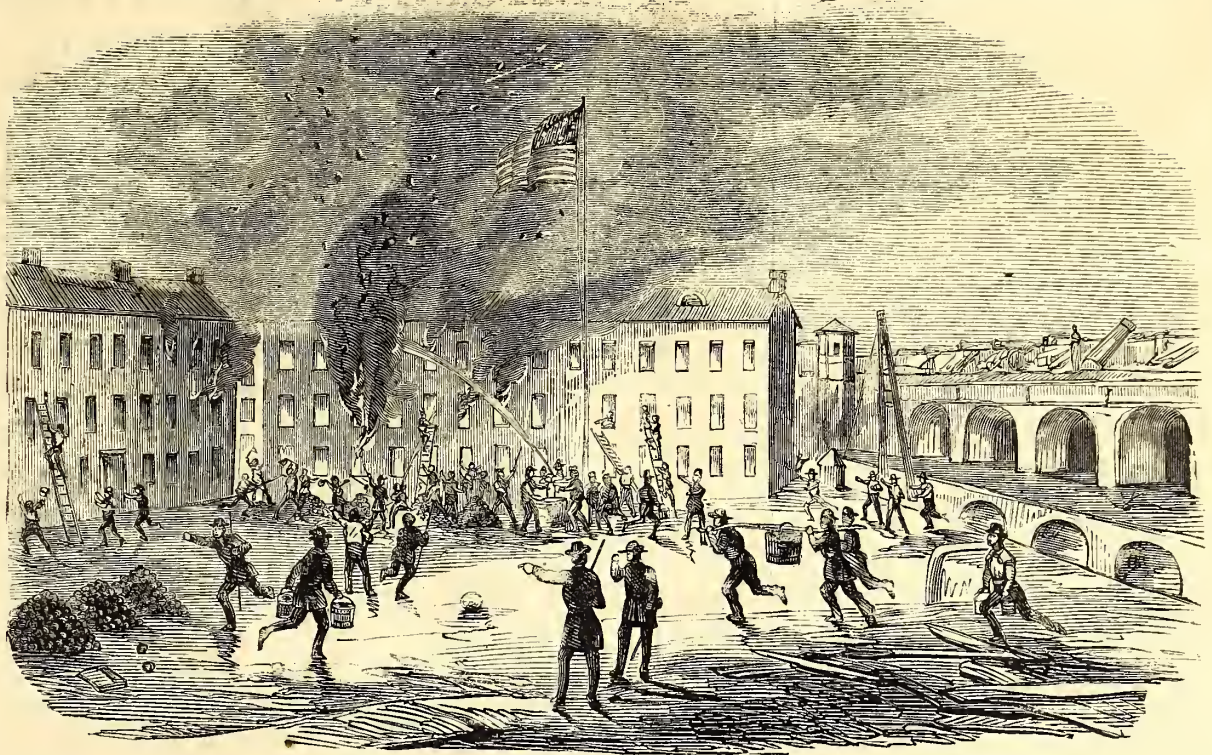
Senator Sherman, arrived at Washington from Ohio, reports that the Republicans of that State are ready to stand by the administration to the last.

Col. Magruder has returned from Europe, having been recalled.

The opinion prevailed that an attempt would be made before sunrise to run light draught vessels of the fleet up to Fort Sumter and reinforce and provision it.

The news from Charleston caused an intense sensation in New York last night on its publication in extras during the evening.

The Tribune states that Geo. Dwight has been appointed Superintendent of the Springfield Armory, and Josiah Dunham, Naval Storekeeper in Boston.



THE UNITED STATES TROOPS ENDEAVORING TO EXTINGUISH THE FIRES IN FORT SUMPTER, DURING THE SIEGE BY THE TROOPS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.—SEE PAGE 370

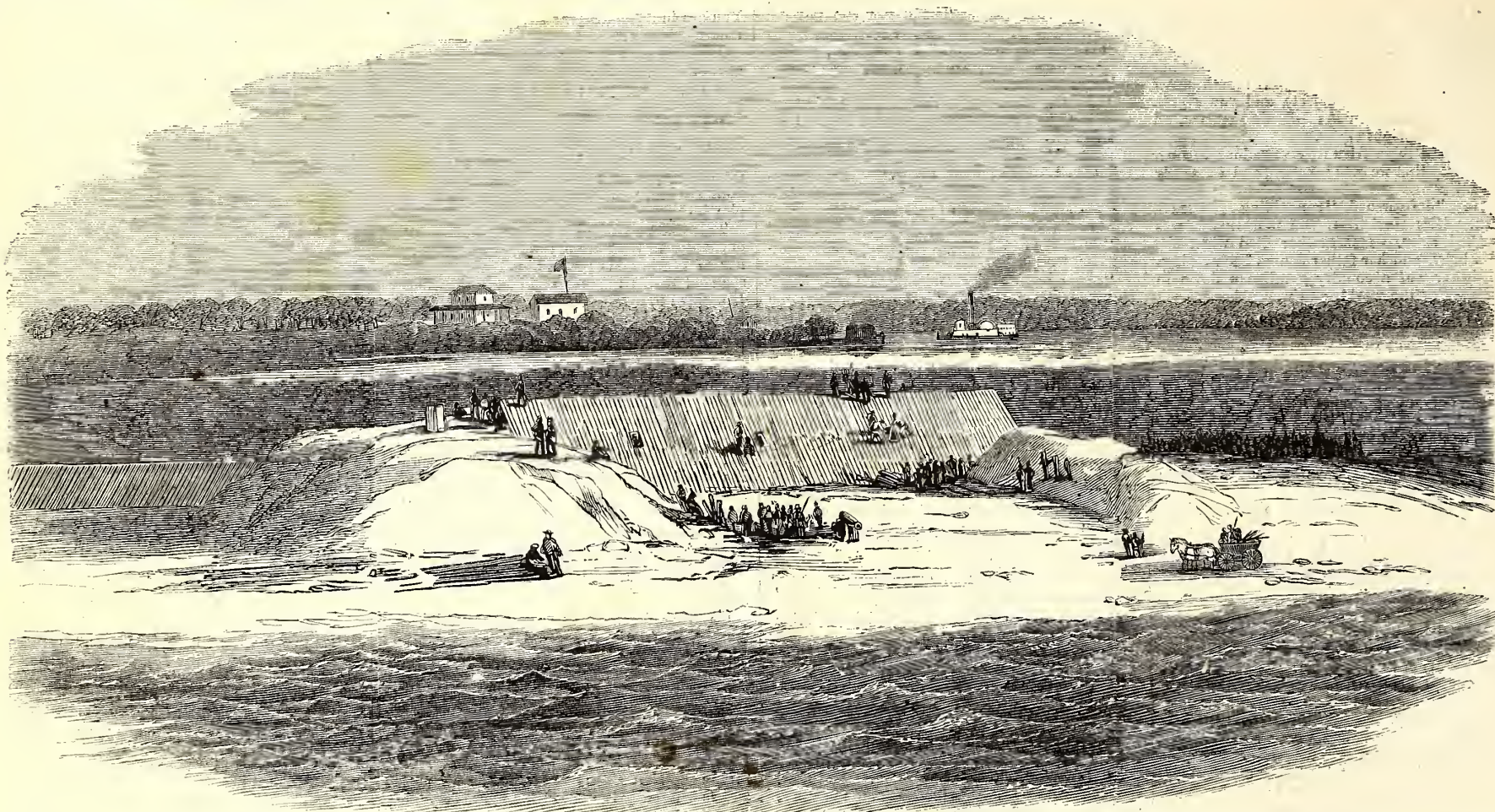
MAJOR ANDERSON'S DESPATCH TO THE WAR
DEPARTMENT.

STEAMSHIP BALTIC, OFF SANDY HOOK, }
April 18, 1861. }

The Hon. S. CAMERON, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

SIR—Having defended Fort Sumpter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge wall seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames, and its door closed from the effects of the heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions but pork remaining, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard, being the same offered by him on the 11th inst., prior to the commencement of hostilities, and marched out of the fort Sunday afternoon, the 14th inst., with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.

ROBERT ANDERSON, Major, First Artillery.



THE IRON-CLAD BATTERY ON CUMMING'S POINT, AS SEEN FROM FORT SUMTER.—[DRAWN BY AN OFFICER OF MAJOR ANDERSON'S COMMAND.]

THE SOUTH CAROLINA BATTERIES.

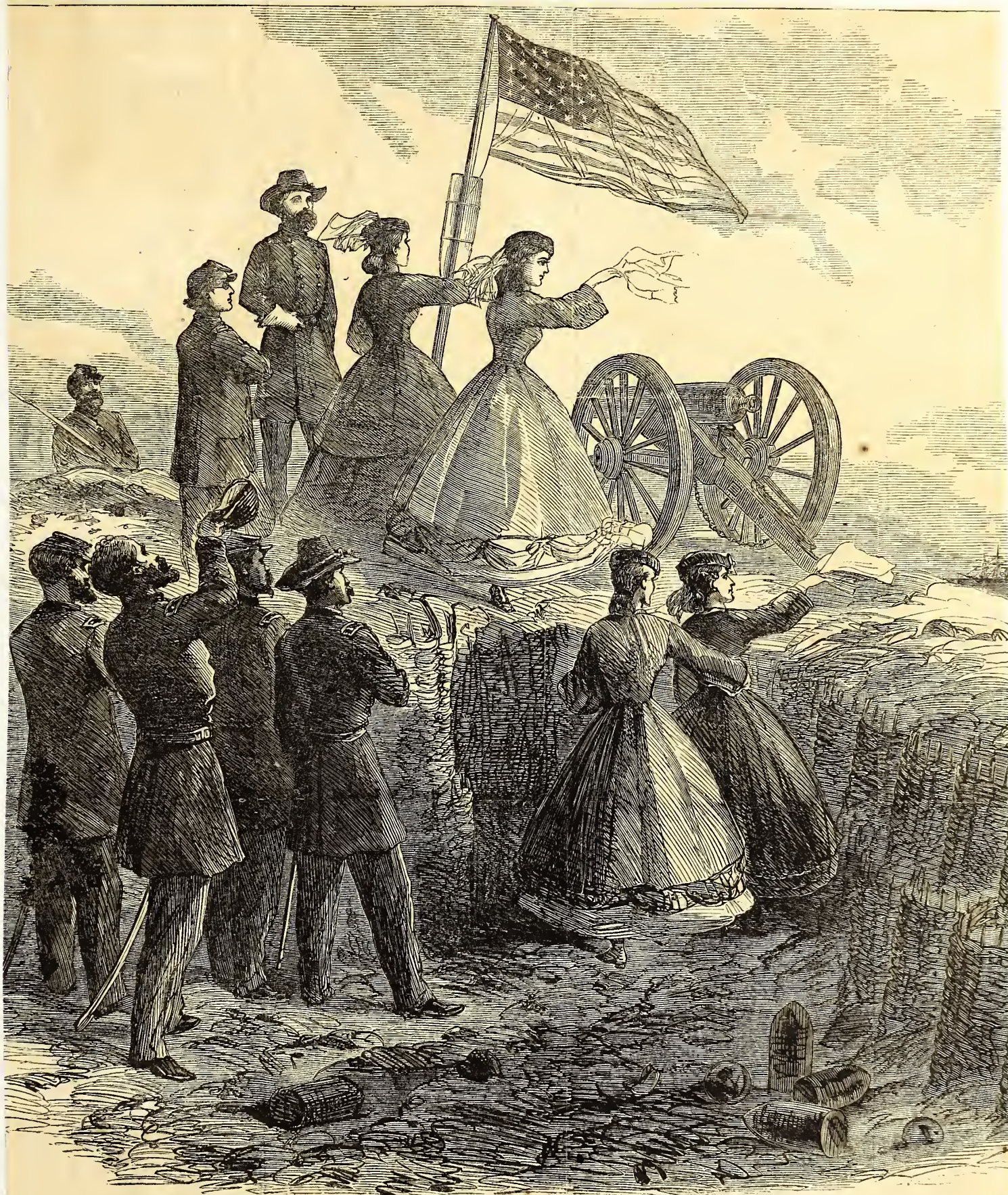
WE publish herewith, from drawings kindly sent us by an officer of Major Anderson's command at Fort Sumter, views of the batteries which the South Carolina troops have raised on Sullivan's Island and other points in the Bay of Charleston, in order to attack Fort Sumter. They need no description. We would, however, draw attention to the view of the iron-clad battery on Cumming's Point. This battery is faced with bars of railroad iron placed side by side, so as to form a complete coat of mail. Whether it will answer the purpose or not remains to be seen. Some officers of engineers and artillery, who have studied it, seem to think that after a few shots the iron will splinter, and that it will add infinitely to the dangers of the garrison of the battery.

President Lincoln has been accused of indecision—
of saying a thing one day, and withdrawing it the
next. We shall see a new and startling proof of
this, soon. "Fort Sumter" is his word now, and we
have every reason to believe that he will very speed-
ily Take It Back.

Vanity Fair
May 4, 1861



FORT SUMTER AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT
IN 1861



VISIT TO FORT SUMTER BY GENERAL GILLMORE AND STAFF, FEBRUARY 21, 1865.—SKETCHED BY STANLEY FOX.—[SEE PAGE 172.]

OCCUPATION OF FORT SUMTER. — The following impressive incident occurred at Fort Sumter on Major Anderson taking possession of that place in December, 1860: It is known that the American flag brought away from Fort Moultrie was raised at Sumter precisely at noon on the 27th of that month. It was a scene that will be a memorable reminiscence in the lives of those who witnessed it. A short time before noon, Major Anderson assembled the whole of his little force, with the workmen employed on the fort, around the foot of the flag-staff. The national ensign was attached to the cord, and Major Anderson, holding the end of the lines in his hand, knelt reverently down. The officers, soldiers, and men clustered around, many of them on their knees, all deeply impressed with the solemnity of the scene. The chaplain made an earnest prayer—such an appeal for support, encouragement, and mercy as one would make who felt that “man’s extremity is God’s opportunity.” As the earnest, solemn words of the speaker ceased, and the men responded Amen with a fervency that perhaps they had never before experienced, Major Anderson drew the “Star-spangled Banner” up to the top of the staff, the band broke out with the national air of “Hail, Columbia!” and loud and exultant cheers, repeated again and again, were given by the officers, soldiers, and workmen. “If,” said the narrator, “South Carolina had at that moment attacked the fort, there would have been no hesitation upon the part of any man within it about defending the flag.”

Frank Moore p. 27

1866

FT. SUMTER SECRETS IN LOSSING PAPERS

Autograph by G. V. Fox Tells
How Lincoln Sent Him to
the Relief of Anderson.

STORMS SPOILED HIS PLAN

One of His Boats Wrecked, One
Driven Back and a Third Cap-
tured—Arrived Too Late.

The fourth part of the library of the late Benson T. Lossing, the American historian, which will be sold by the Anderson Auction Company on April 8, contains a large number of interesting civil war items.

One of the most important of them relates to the attempted relief of Fort Sumter, and consists of two letters written to Lossing by Gustavus Vasa Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President Lincoln, and an apparently unpublished autograph document by Capt. Fox written in pencil, nine pages quarto, giving an account of President Lincoln's decision to attempt the relief, and how he was influenced in it by Francis Preston Blair, Sr., and his son, Montgomery Blair, who was Postmaster General in Lincoln's cabinet. These important documents are indorsed as follows in Lossing's handwriting on the envelope containing them:

"Secret history of the attempt to relieve Fort Sumter. Semi-official from G. V. Fox."

Fox was a native of Saugus, Mass. He entered the United States Navy in 1838, served in the Mexican War, and resigned in 1856, after a service of nineteen years. In February, 1861, while agent for the Bay State Woolen Mills at Lawrence, Mass., he was sent for by Gen. Winfield Scott, and consulted with reference to sending supplies and troops to Fort Sumter, but the expedition was forbidden by President Buchanan.

When Abraham Lincoln became President, Fox was sent to Fort Sumter to communicate with Major Robert Anderson, and on his return was directed to carry out the plan previously formed. The plan was virtually thwarted by the withdrawal of one of the ships, the Powhatan, which was to have taken part.

The expedition had not reached Charleston when the Confederates, notified of its coming, fired on Fort Sumter, and the only thing accomplished was the bringing away of Major Anderson and his command after the surrender.

The first letter of Fox to Lossing reads:

Washington, D. C., Sept. 7, 1864.
My dear Sir—I have your note of the 6th, and we are all pleased at its contents. Your remark that the "intelligence of the Northern people will discern the truth" is our reliance. The navy has but one or two more blows to deal the rebels and the major part of our work is done. These blows before you freeze up. I happened to be mixed up with the Sumter question, most intimately in the early part of this administration, and when a few of us are dead here, it will never be known. It would be a valuable chapter in the history of this rebellion, and I don't know as it is too early to give it to the printer for preservation. If you would like it, and the actors here who are still on the stage do not object, I will give it to you. With many thanks for your kind expression about the navy dept. I am, Very truly, Sir,

G. V. Fox.

The second letter reads:
Washington, D. C., Sept. 14, 1864.
My Dear Sir: I enclose a memorandum, which shows very briefly the facts concerning Fort Sumter. Politically the President saw that he could not yield to the demand of the rebels in the case of Sumter and expect to rally the support of the country upon Fort Pickens or collecting the revenue off the Southern ports. The Blairs made the point that he could not, and must not yield; that the attempt should be made to relieve Major Anderson, and that it did not make any difference whether it succeeded or not.

When the President finally gave the order to go, I knew as a naval man that it was too late to succeed, but I knew also the political necessity of making the attempt. Old Mr. Blair was right—the guns fired upon that starving garrison has been the unity of the North and the knell of the South. My want of success was all for the best. I am surprised that record as history of the war has given any narrative of this matter or stated any facts about it or understood the political bearing of the proceedings during those eventful days.

I trust it is not too late for you to insert a chapter, not in my words, and that I shall have the pleasure of making your acquaintance in Washington. You will have an opportunity of visiting Richmond, for Gen'l Grant will surely force its evacuation, but not at present. The rebels are nearly exhausted, whereas the North is but just changing its battered armor for a new suit. I have not lost confidence, at any moment, in our ultimate success, and surely now we have occasion to be thankful for the bright skies. Most truly, Sir,

G. V. FOX.

The memorandum in Fox's autograph is as follows:

One of the first questions discussed by Mr. Lincoln in cabinet council after his inauguration was whether Fort Sumter should be surrendered to the demands of the South Carolina authorities. Mr. Blair the P. M. Gen'l was the only member of the cabinet who voted not to yield. Gen'l Scott, who had been earnest under Buchanan for reinforcing the fort, advised Mr. Lincoln to abandon any such attempt. Mr. Blair, finding himself alone in support of the measure, and that it was declared impracticable, sent for me to come to Washington and present to the President a plan for provisioning and reinforcing the fort which, under Buchanan, I had presented with the approval of Gen'l Scott.

The plan was to prepare the necessary supplies in packages of portable form, to appear off Charleston Bar with them and the troops in a large ocean steamer, to have three or four men of war as a protecting force, to be accompanied by three fast New York boats, and during the night to send in the supplies and troops in tugs or boats as should seem best after arrival and examination. The channel between Cummings Pt. and Moultrie is one mile and one-third wide, and this plan was based upon the feasibility of passing the line of fire of forts with impunity. Farragut's successes have been based upon the same idea.

The pressure upon the President was very strong to have him give up the fort, but the Blairs argued against it with great tenacity, and, against military opinions, I succeeded in convincing the President that it was perfectly easy to throw in troops and provisions. Though satisfied upon this point, the President hesitated to make any attempt which would lead to collision with the South Carolina forces.

On the 21st of March I visited Fort Sumter and ascertained that Major Anderson had provisions to last his command until the 15th of April, and it was understood between us that he must surrender at noon of that day for want of provisions. I gave him no assurances of relief. On my return I reported to the President that any attempt to succor Major Anderson must be made before April 15th.

The Virginia convention was in session at this time, and the President sent for one of its members, known to be a Union man, and assured him that if that convention would adjourn, instead of staying in session menacing the Gov't, that he would immediately direct Major Anderson to evacuate Fort Sumter. The insolent reply was that the U. S. must evacuate Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens, and give assurances that no attempts should be made to collect revenue in Southern ports. In fact, the demand was for Mr. Lincoln to tacitly acknowledge the rebel confederacy.

The President then sent for me and told me that the expedition might go forward, but in the first case only provisions must be sent in to Major Anderson, and this was to be offered openly with the assurance that if allowed nothing else should be introduced. A special messenger, Col. Lamon, was sent to Gov't Pickens to notify him of these intentions.

This order of the President was

given to me on the evening of the 4th of April, and for obvious reasons not a preparation order had been issued relative to so important an undertaking. However, I arrived in New York the evening of the 6th, and in forty-eight hours I sailed with 200 recruits on board the Baltic and three tugs in company. The U. S. Steamer Pawnee and Pocahontas and revenue cutter H. Lane were ordered to rendezvous off Charleston, and the frigate Powhatan with the necessary men to man the boats for the relief party contained the Senior Naval officer and the minute instructions of the Dept.

Soon after leaving N. Y. we encountered a heavy storm, which drove back one of my tugs; the second put into Wilmington and was captured, and the third lost her smoke pipe and did not reach Charleston Bar until Major Anderson had left.

While the Powhatan was standing down N. Y. Harbor Capt. Meigs (now R. Mr. Gen'l) and Lt. Porter (now Rear Admiral) came on board with an order of the President of the U. S. to take any man of war they might select and use her for an especial object. Under this order, given by the President unbeknown to either the War or Navy Dept., they took the flagship of the relief expedition and went off to Pensacola, carrying all the sailors with them.

I reached Charleston Bar on the morning of the 12th, just as the rebels opened fire upon Fort Sumter. The Pawnee and H. Lane were there with orders to report to the Powhatan. All day of the 12th it blew a gale with a heavy sea and the morning of the 13th showing no signs of abating and the Powhatan not in sight, it was determined to seize a schooner at anchor near us and load her with provisions and take her in the following night. The schooner was accordingly prepared, but at 2 P. M. Fort Sumter was surrendered. Major Anderson and his command returned with me in the Baltic to N. York.

As Postmaster General, Montgomery Blair prohibited the sending of disloyal papers through the mails, and introduced various reforms, such as money orders, free delivery in cities, and postal railroad cars. In 1864 he was not altogether in accord with the policy of the Administration, and told President Lincoln that he would resign whenever it was thought necessary. On Sept. 23 Lincoln in a friendly letter accepted his offer.

Fox, who was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy, soon after the fall of Fort Sumter, planned the capture of New Orleans, the opening of the Mississippi, and, in general, the operations of the navy. He had all the responsibility of removing the superannuated and inefficient men he found in charge, had the honor of selecting David G. Farragut and was often consulted by Gen. U. S. Grant.

CORRECTION

Saw First Shot of Civil War

An Editor Pulled the Lanyard

JUDGE PRYOR, WHO HASTENED CIVIL WAR



At 4:30 o'clock on the morning of April 12, 1861, a young man in a boat in Charleston harbor, straining his eyes upon Fort Johnson, saw the flash and heard the boom of the shot that began the hardest fought conflict in the history of the world.

Yesterday that young man—grown old in years, though not in spirit—sat before an open fire in the library of his home at No. 3 West Sixty-ninth street, and told of the stirring event of fifty years ago, in which he had taken so prominent a part.

To Roger A. Pryor, who at eighty-two looks back upon a distinguished career as journalist, warrior, advocate, jurist and statesman, the fact that he is the sole survivor of thousands who witnessed the first shot from the Confederate batteries is but an instance of God's providential care.

and had renounced his native State and come down to South Carolina.

"This is the man to fire the first shot," I said to the commander of Fort Johnston and he agreed. Mr. Riflin, as you may well imagine, wanted no more congenial task. He prepared to pull the lanyard while the rest of us embarked again for Charleston.

"While we were floating between the two forts, I heard the word of command given, and then the fateful cannon ball went sailing through the air, described a crescent and struck within Fort Sumter."

Thoughts Go Back Fifty Years.

"I woke up this morning shortly after midnight," said Judge Pryor yesterday, in a voice that is still softly Southern despite an almost continual absence of more than forty years from his native State, Virginia, "and then the events of that other April morning fifty years back came to me with all the vividness of yesteryear."

"I remembered my speech from the balcony of the old Mills House, in Charleston, that caused the firing on Sumter and the bringing on of the war. Things were in a critical condition then. The seven cotton States had seceded, but the border States had not. And it was absolutely imperative that something should be done to crystallize sentiment in the South. So a conference of the leaders among the secessionists of Virginia was called, and it was decided to send me down to Charleston to provoke the firing on Sumter."

"My mission soon became known, and at every station on the way down to Charleston the train was halted and I was forced to make a speech. All of them were hot, and, looking back upon them now, I should characterize them as ranting."

The Judge paused and lit a cigar—the one indulgence he still permits himself.

He Delivered the Ultimatum.

"But those speeches, and particularly the one in Charleston, accomplished their purpose. It was decided to call upon Sumter to surrender, and, upon the refusal, to begin the cannonade."

"Early on the morning of April 12 I and several companions rowed out to Fort Sumter. We delivered our ultimatum to Major Anderson. He, of course, refused to surrender the fort."

"Then we re-entered our boat and were rowed directly across the harbor to Fort Johnson. The commander there—even his name escapes me now, so curious are the pranks played upon an old man by his memory—wanted me to pull the lanyard and fire the shot that would start the war."

"It seemed to me an unwonted act of theatricalism to do so, and while I was pondering the question a white-haired old man of sixty in a Confederate uniform and carrying slung over his shoulder a musket came up. This was Edmund Riflin, the editor of an agricultural paper in Richmond. Mr. Riflin had become disgusted with the delay of the Virginia convention to order secession

LINCOLN LORE

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WASHINGTON AND CHARLESTON—APRIL 14, 1865

A strange coincident of national significance which presents a peculiar paradox occurred on Friday, April 14, 1865. Upon the victory of northern forces Washington, the capital of the Union, was dressed in gala attire while Charleston, the early center of the Confederacy, lay in ruins. By night, however, a different story was to be told. In Washington the president had been assassinated, and in Charleston the celebration of the raising of the flag at Fort Sumter was drawing to a close with a brilliant illumination in the harbor and the firing of cannon.

With the Union troops in possession of Charleston, people throughout the North felt that there should be some formal program for the raising of the flag again on Fort Sumter. It so happened that April 14, 1865, came on Good Friday, the same day of the week as April 14, 1861, when Sumter fell. This fact contributed much to the general feeling that a flag raising should be held at Charleston on the fourth anniversary of the day the flag was lowered.

Inasmuch as such a program would first appeal to the War Department, which would look upon the anniversary as an occasion to build up the morale of the troops and create enthusiasm throughout the North, it is quite likely that the idea originated in the office of the Secretary of War. Stanton's biographer, Fowler, implies this. The order follows:

General Order No. 50
War Department, Adjutant-General's Office
Washington, March 27, 1865

Ordered—1. That at the hour of noon, on the 14th day of April, 1865, Brevet Major-General Anderson will raise and plant upon the ruins of Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, the same United States flag which floated over the battlements of that fort during the rebel assault, and which was lowered and saluted by him and the small force of his command when the works were evacuated on the 14th day of April, 1861.

2. That the flag, when raised, be saluted by one hundred guns from Fort Sumter, and by a national salute from every fort and rebel battery that fired upon Fort Sumter.

3. That suitable ceremonies be had upon the occasion, under the direction of Major-General William T. Sherman, whose military operations compelled the rebels to evacuate Charleston, or, in his absence, under the charge of Major-General Q. A. Gillmore, commanding the department. Among the ceremonies will be the delivery of a public address by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

4. That the naval forces at Charleston and their commander at that station be invited to participate in the ceremonies of the occasion.

By order of the President of the United States,
Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

The supposition that the order for the celebration originated with Stanton is strengthened by Lincoln's communications with him about it. On March 27, Lincoln, who was then at City Point, received from Stanton the above order relating to the Charleston celebration. The President replied to Stanton the same day as follows:

March 27, 1865—Telegram to Secretary Stanton.

City Point, Virginia, March 27, 1865. 3:35 P. M.
Hon. Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

Yours inclosing Fort Sumter order received. I think of but one suggestion. I feel quite confident that Sumter fell on the 13th, and not on the 14th of April, as you have it. It fell on Saturday, the 13th; the first call for troops on our part was got up on Sunday, the 14th, and given date and issued on Monday, the 15th. Look up the old almanac and other data, and see if I am not right.

A. Lincoln.

The following day Lincoln sent another telegram to Stanton as follows: "After your explanation, I think it is little or no difference whether the Fort Sumter ceremony takes place on the 13th or 14th." It will be noted that Lincoln had little interest in the arranging of the details of the celebration and apparently it was entirely under the jurisdiction of Secretary Stanton.

Between the time the order was issued and the date set for the celebration, Richmond was captured and Lee had surrendered which brought the war to a close. Those who are unfriendly to Abraham Lincoln argue that he should have called off the celebration, inasmuch as the war was over. His failure to do so some people have declared was evidence that it was "Lincoln's purpose to rub salt into those wounds and put fear into the hearts of the southern people."

Those who were to take part in the celebration had already left Washington for Charleston, before the news of Lee's surrender was received, and the one hundred and eighty citizens of New York who had planned for nearly two weeks to attend the celebration left New York for Charleston by boat the very morning the papers announced Grant's victory.

Even if Lincoln had elected to call off the Fort Sumter program after learning of Lee's surrender, it would have been physically impossible for him to do so unless he had acted immediately. The announcement of the victory of the Union forces did not reach Charleston until the night before the memorable fourteenth of April.

Noon Program at Fort Sumter

1. Introductory Prayer by Rev. Matthias Harris, who had been with Major Anderson at the Fort in 1860.
2. Selection from the Psalms by Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., of Brooklyn.
3. Reading of Major Anderson's dispatch to the Government on the fall of Fort Sumter.
4. Raising of original flag upon the ruins of Fort Sumter by Brevet Major-General Robert Anderson.
5. National salute.
6. Address by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.
7. Singing of the Doxology.
8. Closing prayer and benediction by Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr.

The program at night can best be told in the words of one of the eye witnesses:

"In the evening, at 8 o'clock, we were summoned to the decks, to witness a most unique and beautiful illumination, as the closing demonstration of the day. At a given signal from the flag-ship, every man-of-war, transport and monitor in the harbor, became a skeleton pyramid of flame. Lanterns thickly slung to the rigging and culminating at the top of the mainmast flashed out a starry light or line of lights, reduplicated by reflection in the water, while on the decks the most brilliant Gregorian fires of red, white, blue, green, pink, purple and gold, were lighted, whose columns of smoke, rolling lazily upward and illuminated respectively by their own peculiar flame, presented a spectacle of almost dazzling beauty. Rockets of great power and towering flight screamed skyward from every deck, and, bursting with a muffled sound, dissolved into various gorgeous tints, dropped gently downward, and quenched their splendor in the tide. . . . Thus ended the celebration of April 14, 1865, the day of the flag's resurrection."

The tragedy which occurred in Washington on the evening of April 14, 1865, is well known to all, and stands out in vivid contrast to the brilliant celebration which was originally planned to commemorate a single event but which proved to be the most significant demonstration associated with the close of the war.

The Moorsfield Antiquarian

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NUMBER 2

The Reduction of Fort Sumter Before the Inauguration of Lincoln

Argument of Governor Pickens of South Carolina

THE POSITION of President Buchanan during the months intervening between the election and inauguration of Lincoln was one of supreme difficulty. Opposed to slavery, and denying the right of secession, he held that the Federal Government had no power under the Constitution to force South Carolina to remain in the Union, when she had taken the election of Lincoln as a signal for putting to the test her old doctrine of States Rights. He did claim, however, that the Government had the right to use force to compel the obedience of law and for the preservation of National property.

South Carolina, therefore, endeavored to obtain possession of Federal property by diplomatic means, without openly attacking the armed force of the National Government. There ensued an "intellectual combat," as General Samuel W. Crawford happily terms the negotiations which endeavored to meet the unfortunate condition of the Union.¹

The final phase of this "combat" centered around the

¹ *The Genesis of the Civil War* (New York, 1887), viii. Portions of the letter of Governor Pickens on the reduction of Fort Sumter are quoted—though not textually—by Gen. Crawford, *op. cit.*, 268-269.

surrender of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor.

Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, had made careful preparations for a concentrated bombardment of Sumter, but the decision to attempt its reduction was taken out of his hands by the formation of the Provisional Government by delegates of the seven States which had then adopted the Ordinance of Secession. This control had been assumed by a resolution adopted by the Provisional Congress on February 12, 1861, and on the evening of that day Hon. Howell Cobb, President of the Congress, had notified Governor Pickens of this resolution, by telegraph.

In answer to this telegram, Governor Pickens wrote the following letter, stating his own opinions on the political and military situation, and expressing his decided conviction that the attack on Fort Sumter should be made before the inauguration of Lincoln.

This letter is written on ten pages of ruled foolscap, with printed heading, and addressed, signed, and endorsed by the Governor.

Letter of Governor Francis W. Pickens

State of South Carolina,
Executive Department,
13 February 1861.

To Hon: Howell Cobb President of
the Provisional Congress, Montgomery, Ala.

Sir

I had the honor last night to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram in which you informed me that the Convention had taken charge of the "questions and difficulties" now existing between the several States of the Confederacy

and the Government of the United States. In the reply made to you by telegram, I stated that I would communicate with you by letter; and added to it the expression of the urgent conviction of the Authorities of this State, as to the period in which the reduction of Fort Sumter should be complete.

And in the first place, let me offer you my warm congratulations upon the success, which has attended you in the organization of the Provisional Government. May it be equal to the emergency of every occasion which can arise; & be to each State in this new Confederation the efficient guardian of those rights, which ignored or usurped under the former Confederation, have united these States in the bonds of a new political compact.

In taking charge of the "questions and difficulties" which relate to Fort Sumter it will be necessary for the Convention to apprehend rightly their present position. The force of circumstances devolved upon this State an obligation to provide the measures necessary for its defence. It has been obliged to act under the guidance of its own Counsels: but has never forgotten the interests of its Sister States, in every measure which it was about to provide for its own safety. And I beg to assure you that in all which it may at any time do, a regard for the welfare and wishes of its Sister States in the new Confederation, will exercise a marked influence upon the conduct of this State.

The "questions & difficulties" of Fort Sumter can scarcely be appreciated unless by those who have been familiar with its progress, from the commencement of its history to the present moment. If it shall appear otherwise, it has nevertheless been the constant anxious desire of this State, to obtain possession of a Fort, which held by the United States, affected its dignity and safety, without a collision which would involve the loss of life. To secure this end, every form of negotiation which could be adopted, in consistency with the dignity of the State; or had the promise or seeming of success, has been honestly attempted. To all

of these attempts there has been but one result; a refusal in all cases, positive and unqualified, varied only as to the reasons which were set forth for its justification, has followed each demand. And now the conviction is present to the State, derived from the most calm & deliberate consideration of the whole matter, that in this persistent refusal of the President of the United States, is involved a denial of the rightful independence of the State of South Carolina.

The "questions and difficulties" therefore of Fort Sumter comprehend now as you will perceive, considerations which are political as well as military. And it would scarcely be considered that an undue estimate was made of the former, if they were said to be as important as the latter. The establishment of them moreover is of the utmost consequence to every State which has united with this State in the bonds of a new Confederation.

The State has held its right to the possession of Fort Sumter, to be the direct and necessary consequence of its right as a Sovereign State, to have the control of a Military post within its limits; which post during the period of the political connection of the State with the other States, was held by the United States for the protection of South Carolina because South Carolina was a part of the United States. And being so, upon the United States was devolved, the obligation to provide that defence for this State. With the termination of the political connection between South Carolina & the United States, the obligation of the United States to defend that State ceased: unless that State itself was the property of the United States. If the State was an independent Power, the rightful control within its limits of a military post which involved its dignity and affected its safety, was and is recognised by the plainest rules of Public Law.

The denial therefore of the right of the State to have possession of the Fort, was in fact a denial of its independence. Nor has there been even a colorable pretext, for a

consistency of that possession by the United States, with the independence of the State: since the President authorised the distinct avowal that it was held as a Military post. The sole use of it as a Military post is in the control, called by the President, the protection, it gives to the United States, of the harbor of Charleston. The assertion then as you will perceive of the rightful independence of the State, carries necessarily with it the right to reduce a Fort into its own possession, which is held by a hostile power for an unfriendly purpose. It is a hostile Power, when it asserts a right to exercise a dominion over the State, which that State refuses to recognise as consistent with its own dignity and safety; and its purpose cannot be otherwise than unfriendly, when it can only be, to enable the United States to commit to its military subordinates a power to refuse, "to permit any vessels to pass within range of the guns" which are within its walls.

It has therefore been considered at once proper and necessary for this State to take possession of that Fort as soon as the measures necessary for the accomplishment of that result, can be completed. And it is now expected that within a short time all the arrangements will be perfected necessary for its certain and speedy reduction. With the completion of these preparations, and the assurance they afford of success, it has ever been the purpose of the Authorities of this State, to take this Fort into the possession of the State. The right to do so, has been considered the right of the State, and the resources of the State have been considered equal to the exercise of that right.

Whatever may be the mode in which the Convention will take charge of these "questions & difficulties" it is considered that in the solution of them, you will regard the position which the State of South Carolina now occupies in relation to them. That position is marked by these propositions: that the right to have possession of the Fort is a right incident to the Independence she has asserted; that

to obtain possession of the Fort, she has exhausted all modes, which consistently with her dignity can be devised, for a peaceful settlement; that the failure of such attempts has remitted her to the necessity of employing force to obtain that which should have been yielded from considerations of Justice & Right; and that as soon as her preparations are completed, the reduction of that Fort should be accomplished.

In the absence of any explanation or direction connected with the Telegram, received from you, I have assumed that the policy and measures which have been adopted by this State, and are in prosecution, will be recognised as proper.

In the consideration of the question of Fort Sumter, I have not been insensible of those matters which are in their nature consequential: and have, I trust, weighed with all the care which befits the grave responsibilities of the case, the various circumstances which determine the time when this attack should be made. With the best lights which I could procure in guiding or assisting me, I am perfectly satisfied that the welfare of the new Confederation and the necessities of this State require, that Fort Sumter should be reduced before the close of the present Administration at Washington.

If an attack is delayed till after the inauguration of the incoming President of the United States, the troops now gathered in the Capitol may then be employed in attempting that which previous to that time they could not be spared to do. They dare not leave Washington *now* to do that which *then* will be a measure too inviting to be resisted. Mr. Lincoln cannot do more for this State than Mr. Buchanan has done. Mr. Lincoln will not concede what Mr. Buchanan has refused. And Mr. Buchanan has placed his refusal upon grounds which determine his reply to six States as completely as to the same demand if made by a single State. If peace can be secured, it will be by the prompt use of the occasion when the forces of the United States are withheld from our harbor. If War can be averted, it will be,

by making the capture of Fort Sumter a fact accomplished during the continuance of the present Administration, and leaving to the incoming Administration the question of an open declaration of War. Such a declaration, separated as it will be, from any present Act of hostilities during Mr. Lincolns Administration, may become to him a matter requiring consideration. That consideration will not be expected of him if the attack on the Fort is made during his administration, and becomes therefore as to him, an act of present hostility. Mr. Buchanan cannot resist because he has not the power: Mr. Lincoln may not attack, because the cause of quarrel will have been, or may be considered by him, as past.

Upon this line of policy have I acted, and upon the adherence to it may be found, I think, the most rational expectation of seeing that Fort, which is even now a source of real danger to the State, restored to the possession of the State, without those consequences which I should most deeply deplore. Should such consequences nevertheless follow from an adherence to this policy, however much I would regret the occurrence, I should feel a perfect assurance, that in happening under such circumstances, they demonstrated conclusively, that under the evil passions which blind and mislead those who govern the United States, no human power could have averted the attempted overthrow of these States. And that in the exhibition of an ability in the States of the new Confederation to maintain their rights, there could be found satisfaction in the reflection that their sufferings at this time might purchase for them quiet and happiness in time to come.

I have the honor to be with great respect

Your Obt Servt,

F. W. Pickens

[Endorsed] Letter on / Fort Sumter / & / jurisdiction by /
Confederate Govt. / Feby 1861

Education of Andrew D. Hepburn Son-in-law of William Holmes McGuffey 1848-1857

AMONG the several letters from William Holmes McGuffey found in the *McGill Papers* were two bearing upon the career of Andrew D. Hepburn, Dr. McGuffey's son-in-law, who later became President of Miami University. There were also found several letters from Andrew, as well as many references to him in the correspondence between his father, Judge Samuel Hepburn, and Dr. Alexander T. McGill. While these various letters are comparatively few in number, and are spread over many years, they give a fair picture of Hepburn's early life and education, and of his relations with his more famous father-in-law.

Alexander Taggart McGill had been ordained in the Presbyterian Church at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1835, where he remained seven years. In 1842 he was elected to a professorship in the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pennsylvania, and soon acquired a wide reputation as an educator, with the result that he was several times offered the presidency of colleges in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

It was during one of these efforts, by the Trustees of Ohio University, that he made the acquaintance of William Holmes McGuffey, the author of the *McGuffey Readers* and a former president of the University. This acquaintance ripened into a friendship which lasted until Dr. McGuffey's death in 1873—a mutual recognition of each other's intellectual powers.

THE documents still unavailable. As a result their book remains
MONTH indispensable." While you keep in mind that last word,
May 41 we'll merely let it be known that we have a nice set of the
first edition, in ten volumes, large 8vo, green cloth, New
York, 1890—\$25.

CHARLESTON MERCURY EXTRA:

Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M. December
20th, 1860.

AN ORDINANCE

To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and
other States united with her under the compact entitled "The
Constitution of the United States of America"

1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina, in General Assembly, that the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America" be and it is hereby dissolved and annulled.

That the Ordinance adopted by the Convention on the twenty-first day of May of the
year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-sixth, dissolving the Union of the
United States of America was null and void, and that all Acts of the General
Assembly of this State, repugnant to the said Ordinance, are hereby repealed;
and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of
"The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

THE
UNION
IS
DISSOLVED!

THE FIRST CONFEDERATE IMPRINT

The broadside which announced the result of the momentous South
Carolina Convention of December, 1860. This is a fine copy, meas-
uring about 24 by 12 inches. \$60.

The OLD PRINT SHOP

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PORTFOLIO

for AUG.-SEPT., 1954

VOL. XIV

• Edited by HELEN COMSTOCK •

NUMBER 1

We appreciate prompt notice of change of address, so that we may keep our mailing list up to date. Readers are invited to send names of persons who are interested in buying old prints and therefore in receiving THE PORTFOLIO.

DISCOVERY OF A SOUTHERN HISTORICAL PRINT

According to the history books, Savannah's secession flag was raised on Greene Monument in Johnson Square after the news came that South Carolina had seceded on December 20, 1860. The title on the unique, recently discovered lithograph opposite proves this flag had been raised over a month earlier, November 8.

The flag showing a rattlesnake and *Don't Tread on Me* probably had its origin in an organization called the Rattlesnakes, who, like the Minute Men, Regulators and other local organizations signed letters to Savannah newspapers favoring resistance. After the conflict started they were absorbed into the regular military companies. In 1861, Joseph Prendergast, who helped make the Rattlesnake flag, is listed in the rolls of the Chatham Artillery.

On November 7 the Georgia legislature convened; on November 8 Governor Brown called for determined action in support of states' rights. Forty counties responded. The raising of the flag without doubt expressed the sentiment of Chatham County.

When the *Morning News* printed a *Historical Record of Savannah* in 1869, there was no mention of the incident on November 8 although it is said that the Rattlesnake flag was raised on Greene Monument in December.



3. CITY OF CHARLESTON, S. CAROLINA. Engraved by W. J. Bennett (in aquatint) after painting by G. Cook—hand colored. $15\frac{3}{4} \times 24\frac{1}{2}$. This old print has been cut to the colored portion all around. It has been mounted to supply new margins and re-lettered in facsimile.

MOST IMPORTANT
From the fine clear quality of the printed impression, we are certain this is a first state. As there exists only one other impression of the first state, we count our print important despite the necessary restoration of margins and lettering. \$350.



2. THE FIRST FLAG OF INDEPENDENCE RAISED IN THE SOUTH, BY THE CITIZENS OF SAVANNAH, GA. NOV. 8, 1860. Lithograph by R. H. Howell, Savannah, Ga., drawn by Henry Gleenerwerche, Savannah, Ga., dedicated to the Morning News. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 17$, plus good margins. In lower left corner are two manuscript notes, "Presented to Jos. Prendergast by John Devereux, Jr., Nov. 1860. J. P. helped to make the above banner and himself painted the lettering thereon." The lettering on the flag or banner reads, "Our motto Southern Rights Equality of the States, Don't tread on me." In our opinion this is the most important confederate states print we have ever seen or owned. It must be excessively rare if not unique. \$475.

Lincoln's Big Gamble

Civil War's Untold Story

By BRUCE CATTON

Editor, The American Heritage

No American president ever had to face a time of crisis more desperate or perplexing than the one that confronted Abraham Lincoln when he took the oath of office in front of the Capitol on March 4, 1861.

The Union had broken in half, and nobody seemed to know whether what was happening was a revolution or a simple collapse of government. The Constitution which Lincoln had sworn to uphold and defend con-

tained no guidance; the leaders of the seven seceding states insisted that everything they had done was perfectly constitutional, and Lincoln's predecessor, outgoing President James Buchanan, had confessed his utter helplessness by insisting that although secession was illegal, it would also be illegal for the federal government to do anything to stop it.

Constitutional or otherwise, secession was at least an accomplished fact. A new nation, the Confed-

erate States of America, had come into being in the South. It had a government, it was rapidly acquiring armed forces, and its leaders wanted nothing from Washington except formal recognition of the Confederacy's independence and immediate surrender of such forts, arsenals and other bits of property as the federal government possessed in the Southland.

Acted With Care

Sentiment in the North was sharply divided. Nobody wanted to see the country fall apart, but nobody wanted a war, either. A great many Northern Democrats felt that Lincoln himself, simply by the act of getting elected, was in a large measure responsible for the trouble, and they were prepared to be highly critical of any action he might take.

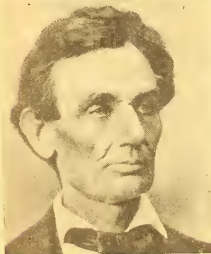
This, then, was the tangled, pressing and seemingly insoluble crisis which presented itself to Lincoln when he took office. Somehow he had to rally the people to meet the greatest emergency America had ever faced. Above everything else, the country needed leadership. It had drifted into this crisis, and the one certainty was that it could not afford to go on drifting.

Lincoln began by acting with extreme caution. In his inaugural address he said that he considered the federal union indestructible, and he warned that he would "hold, occupy and possess" government property in the South, but for the moment he went no further. He took counsel with his Cabinet, and his Cabinet had very little constructive advice to offer.

The showdown would obviously come at Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. This fort was actually under siege. All around it the Confed-



GEN. G. T. BEAU



LINCOLN DURING HIS FIRST DAYS IN OFFICE

About the Author

Bruce Catton, the author of this exclusive report on Lincoln's course at the outset of the Civil War, is recognized as one of the nation's leading authorities on the history of the War Between the States.



Scott was warning that very powerful force would be needed, if this were done, and the needed so-

Lincoln's Big Gamble Won for North

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The showdown would obviously come at Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. This fort was actually under siege. All around it the Confederates had built a powerful ring of batteries, fully manned, ready to open fire. The very food the men in the fort ate could reach them only with the South's consent, which was likely to be withheld at any moment. Meanwhile, the South was insistently demanding that the fort be evacuated.

Should the place be held—and, if so, how? Should an army and a fleet be sent down? Lt. Gen. Winfield

Scott was warning that a very powerful force would be needed, if that were done, and the needed soldiers just were not available.

Should Lincoln follow the advice of Secretary of State William H. Seward, who was telling him to surrender Fort Sumter but to hold to the fort, at Pensacola (Seward, incidentally, was making things very complicated. He seemed to assume that it was Seward—not Lincoln, who would really run the government, he was privately assuring the Southern representatives that Fort Sumter would be given up, and he was advising Lincoln to sit up a foreign war scare so that a revival of old-fashioned patriotism might lead the South to cancel secession and make common cause against a common foe.

Bypasses Davis

Five weeks passed, and then Lincoln acted. The secession he chose was very mild, in a way, but it provided just the jar that finally eased the whole confused situation to crystalline. Lincoln notified the governor of South Carolina that he could not deal directly with Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, because that would imply that he recognized that nation's existence; that he was

going to send supplies to the fort Sumter garrison. That triggered it. President Davis accepted that news as the signal for the showdown, and the Confederate commander at Charleston, Gen. G. T. Beauregard, was told to demand immediate surrender of the fort. Beauregard made his demand, Maj. Robert Anderson, the federal commander, rejected it, and early in the morning of April 12 the bombardment began. Seward's policy overshot; within two days Maj. Anderson had taken his flag, on April 14 the garrison was North, the Confederacy had the fort—and the whole nation had a war.

If Lincoln had moved cautiously up to the moment the firing began, he moved with boldness and action thereafter. At a matter of fact he acted very much like a dictator, and the North supported him with amazing enthusiasm.

Accepting the bombardment as the opening move in a war, Lincoln called on the states for 75,000 troops to put down "combinations too powerful to resist" which, he held, were in rebellion against the national authority.

He called Congress to meet in special session on July 4, and while he was waiting for it he dipped

freely into Treasury funds for war purposes, trusting that Congress would validate the action later. In Maryland, he suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*, arrested numerous state officials, and put federal troops in Baltimore. In Maryland, he suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*, arrested numerous state officials, and put federal troops in Baltimore. In Missouri he issued a federal troop commander to seize a camp of Missouri rebels and to arrest the soldiers who

But it was in the North that the effect of Lincoln's moves was truly electric. The response that immediately developed among Lincoln and all the members of his Cabinet, it was known as "the springing of the people," and it demonstrated once and for all that the people were glad that the time of drifting was over and that they would warily support the most drastic program the government could by down to meet the emergency, but the temper of the country sustained him.

The action that was necessary to meet the emergency was drastic, unprecedented, tragically costly, but it was welcomed. Lincoln called his fellow-congressmen to rise to meet a challenge, and the response was everything that could have asked.

Lincoln's course throughout the war was of a piece with this. He always met the dangers in the situation abundantly clear to the country, he refused to conceal or to gloss over bad news, he demanded the utmost the people could give him—and, in the end, the United States stayed one nation, with a broader character, more freedom than it had ever had before.

Lincoln summoned the nation to greatness, and the nation gave him greatness in return.

Siege of Sumter

On the morning of April 12, 1861, the bombardment of Fort Sumter entered its final stage. Fort Sumter, where the first shot was fired, is in the background in background of right over the tiny silhouettes of federal relief ships which never came any closer because they were outgunned by Confederate shore batteries under the command of Gen. G. T. Beauregard. The federal garrison on Sumter, commanded by Maj. Robert Anderson, consisted of 65 soldiers, 10 officers and one New York police sergeant in uniform. After 34 hours of shelling, Maj. Anderson surrendered. No one on either side was killed until the final moments of evacuation when Anderson's men fired a 30-second salute. At the 50th discharge, a premature explosion killed a federal soldier.

MAJ. ROBERT ANDERSON

unanimous in its support of the war.

The great crisis had involved the danger that the nation would fall apart simply because no one did anything to keep it together, and the crisis was passed once it was met squarely, head-on.

It is noteworthy that in many ways Lincoln acted without much legal justification, stretching his constitutional powers almost to the breaking point in order to meet the emergency, but the temper of the country sustained him.

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LINCOLN DURING HIS FIRST DAYS IN OFFICE

About the Author

Bruce Cation, the author of this exclusive report on Lincoln's course at the outset of the Civil War, is recognized as one of the nation's leading authorities on the history of the War Between the States. He received the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1954 with his book, "A Soldier at Appomattox," the third of a trilogy on the Union Army of the Potomac. His next work, "The Hillside Ground," also deals with the Union's part in the war.

Cation, who was born in Catonsville, Md., is a

member of the National Press Club and editor of a magazine, *The American Review*. He and his wife reside in Bethesda, Md. A son, William Bruce Cation, is studying for his doctorate of philosophy degree in history at Northwestern University.



Outbreak of hostilities found the North with a small army numbering about 16,000 men. There were few guns, no military maps and no prepared plan of operation.

GEN. G. T. BEAUREGARD

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Lincoln took elsewhere.

He was training the men who proclaimed a blockade of Southern ports, and a little later he forbade trade with the seceded states.

North Responded

One result of this was to jar such states as Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee straight into the Confederacy. They had remained in the Union that far, but when actual war came they sided with the other Southern states.

Stephan A. Douglas, who had run against Lincoln for the presidency, went to the White House to assure him of his support, and spend the final weeks of his life in the White House, rallying his followers to uphold the Union.

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North's 'Uprising' Amazed Cabinet

Not only Lincoln, but also members of his Cabinet, wrote Bruce Cation, were amazed by the heartening response the President's orders received from the people. Seated in foreground in the photo showing Lincoln with his Cabinet is William H. Seward, the secretary of state who complicated Lincoln's task by seeming to

think it was he, and not the President, who was running the government. The other Cabinet members are (from left) Edwin M. Stanton, Salmon P. Chase, Gideon Wells, Caleb Smith, Montgomery Blair and Edwin Bates. The drawing depicts one of the war meetings which followed Lincoln's call for volunteers.



Edmund Ruffin Fires First Shot of Civil War

by Peter Huber

When Edmund Ruffin was eighteen years old in 1812 he dropped out of William and Mary College and married a girl from Williamsburg, Virginia, where William and Mary was located. He then enlisted in the American army in order to fight the British in the War of 1812. Young Ruffin was unhappy when the war ended before he had the opportunity to fight in any battles.

After the war he settled down to become a gentleman farmer on a plantation which he had inherited from his father in Tidewater Virginia. He took his duties as a planter seriously and studied scientific farming. Applying the principles of scientific agriculture to the management of his plantation he greatly increased the productivity of his lands. He became one of the wealthiest planters in Virginia, the owner of a hundred slaves and several plantations.

Not content with enriching himself, he became a publicist for scientific farming. As a writer, lecturer, and editor he urged his fellow planters to rotate their crops, fertilize their fields, drain their swamps, and sweeten their acid soils with applications of lime. By following Ruffin's teachings, many Southern planters increased their production.

In 1843 the Governor of South Carolina, James Hammond, invited Ruffin to make a survey of plantations in the Governor's state, followed by recommendations on how to improve agricultural production in South Carolina. While conducting his agricultural survey in South Carolina, Ruffin had many conversations with Governor Hammond. Their discussions often went beyond the subject of agriculture to economic and political topics. Governor Hammond was one of the first Southerners to advocate that the Southern states should secede from the Union and form a new and independent nation. Gradually Hammond converted Ruffin to the cause of disunion.

When Ruffin completed his agricultural survey of South Carolina, he received high praise for his work from the planters and politicians of that state. By contrast, Ruffin had received very little appreciation for his contributions to agriculture in his native state of Virginia. Because he received so little credit for

advancing agriculture in Virginia, Ruffin was fond of quoting the Biblical verse: "A prophet is never without honor, save in his own country and in his own house."

After Ruffin's wife died in 1846, he derived less pleasure than previously from farming. His interest in agriculture had been replaced by a serious concern about the entire economy of the South,

which was based on slave labor. Ruffin believed that the economic welfare of the South was being threatened by increasing opposition to slavery in the Northern states and in new states in the West.

Moreover, Ruffin believed that the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the North was creating a distinctive Northern economy. This new Northern industrial economy, Ruffin thought, had

interests and needs that were opposed to those of the agrarian South.

As Ruffin perceived the future, the South would be increasingly impoverished as long as it continued to be part of the United States. Ruffin believed that the only way the South could preserve its way of life would be to leave the Union and become a separate nation, free to pursue a course that would be most beneficial to itself.

Just as he had been the apostle of scientific agriculture, Ruffin now became a propagandist for Southern political and economic independence from the North. In 1855, when he was sixty-one, he turned over his prosperous plantations in Tidewater Virginia to his sons and daughters, in order to devote himself full-time to the cause of promoting Southern independence from the North.

When he began his campaign for Southern autonomy Ruffin found plenty of resentment in the South against the North. Southerners detested and hated abolitionists, especially those who helped fugitive slaves—Southern property—escape to freedom in Canada.

But most Southerners were not yet willing to separate from their northern fellow countrymen. Ruffin found that pro-Union sentiment was strong in Virginia, which had given the country four out of five of its first Presidents, including the most revered American in both North and South, George Washington. Loyalty to the Union was particularly strong in western Virginia. When Ruffin spoke there, advocating disunion, he was denounced as a traitor and was threatened with being ridden out of town on a rail.

To find congenial company, Ruffin visited some of his old friends in South Carolina, where talk of secession was more common and less hazardous than in Virginia. In South Carolina Ruffin found many kindred souls who shared his belief that the South could only survive by severing its ties with the North. Because of their radical belief in disunion, Ruffin and his fellow disunionists were called "fire eaters" by more moderate Southerners.

By 1859, when Ruffin was sixty-five, he was becoming discouraged in his efforts to persuade Southerners, especially Virginians, to



Edmund Ruffin, photographed soon after he fired the opening cannon at Fort Sumter.

leave the Union. Then in a most unexpected way his spirits were suddenly lifted by a fervid abolitionist named John Brown.

John Brown and a few of his followers took command of the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, from which they planned to supply arms for an insurrection of slaves against their masters. Brown failed to rally any slaves for his insurrection and was soon captured by militia.

Ruffin was not surprised that John Brown failed to enlist any slaves in his cause. Ruffin believed that slaves loved their protective masters. Even though John Brown had failed to accomplish his bloody goal, Ruffin did everything he could to perpetuate the South's fears aroused by John Brown. Ruffin talked about Brown's intentions, not his failure. He rushed to Harper's Ferry to witness firsthand the aftermath of Brown's seditious scheme.

Ruffin was fascinated when he beheld 1500 spears which Brown had planned to distribute among slaves for the purpose of impaling their masters. Brown had said that these spears would "transform slaves into men." Ruffin regarded the commander of the arsenal to give him one of the spears for a souvenir. Ruffin carried the spear with him wherever he went and explained to people how John Brown had wanted slaves to use it.

John Brown was duly tried for attempting to incite an insurrection and was condemned to be hanged. As a precaution against any attempt to rescue Brown, who was being idolized by abolitionists in the North, the court permitted only authorized armed guards to witness the hanging. Ruffin wanted very much to see Brown hanged, he persuaded the commander of the guard at the Virginia Military Institute to allow him to temporarily join the cadet corps as an "honorary member."

As an "honorary cadet," Ruffin watched John Brown ride to the gallows sitting on his coffin which rested on the bed of a wagon. Ruffin regarded with dignity with which Brown ascended the stairs to the gallows and, without the slightest sign of fear, allowed the rope to be put about his neck.

After the execution Ruffin managed to acquire fifteen of Brown's spears. He sent a spear to each Southern governor, labeling each weapon with a description of its intended purpose. One of Ruffin's labels read, "Sample of the favors designed for us by our Northern brethren."

After he returned to Tidewater Virginia, Ruffin continued to keep alive the fears aroused by John Brown. Warning that slave rebellions would subject Southern ladies to "danger and insult," Ruffin organized a "Ladies' Shooting Club," so that white women would be able to protect themselves.

Carrying his spear, Ruffin went to Washington, D.C., where he tried to intensify the already seething animosity between Northern and Southern Congressmen. He was gratified when a Southern Congressman attacked an anti-slavery Congressman from the North with a Bowie knife.

He urged Southern Congressmen to secede from the Union. It was important, Ruffin said, to secede "now," in 1859, while there was still time. In another year or two growing Northern abolitionism and Northern industrial power might make secession impossible, Ruffin warned.

In the early part of 1860 Ruffin decided that the most effective way for him to arouse enthusiasm for the Southern cause would be to write a propagandistic novel that would depict the likely future of North and South. Just

as Harriet Beecher Stowe had won many Northern converts to abolitionism by writing her novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Ruffin hoped to win converts to the cause of slavery by writing his own novel, *Anticipations of the Future*.

In Ruffin's novel the Republicans elect William H. Seward as President in 1860. In power, the Republicans proceed to "negroize" society. Ruffin's term for granting social equality to blacks. The white daughters of prominent abolitionists in Washington live with each other to live the favor of the black ambassador from Haiti, the "Count of Marmalade." When the North emancipates the slaves, the South secedes from the Union, and Owen Brown, son of John Brown, leads an army of blacks southward against the seceders. Much to the surprise of the Northerners, however, the members of the black army desert, return to the plantations where they were raised and, on bended knees, beg their former masters to please reenslave them. With their black army depleted by desertions, the North has no choice but to surrender to the South.

Ruffin's book was totally ignored, and, consequently, made no converts to the defense of slavery.

While he was writing his fanciful and ineffective book, Ruffin was also taking practical steps to hasten Southern independence from the North. Working with fellow "fire eaters" from the Deep South, Ruffin was laying the political groundwork for Southern secession from the North.

Ruffin and other radical Southerners believed that there was only one event that would cause the Southern states to secede: the election of a Republican, anti-slavery President in 1860. The strategy of the "fire eaters" was paradoxical; in order to realize their ultimate aim of establishing a Southern nation based on slavery, they would first help an anti-slavery party win the national election.

To help the Republicans win, the "fire eaters" tried to weaken the Democratic Party by splitting it into two factions, North and South, each with its own nominee. Their efforts to split the party were opposed by Stephen A. Douglas, a Democratic candidate for President who enjoyed wide support in both North and South.

Ruffin and the other "fire eaters" were afraid that Douglas might become President, unifying the republic. In the spring of 1860 Ruffin went to work on behalf of anti-Douglas delegates from Virginia to the national Democratic convention.

At the national Democratic Convention met, it was so divided it could not agree on a platform or a nominee. The Southern delegates walked out, as planned by the "fire eaters," and the convention was forced to disband.

Subsequently the Northern and Southern factions of the Democratic met separately, each faction nominating its own candidate. The "fire eaters" had succeeded in splitting the Democratic Party. By doing so they had insured the election of a Republican and the ensuing break-up of the nation.

When the Republican nominee,

Abraham Lincoln, was elected in November, Southerners, especially those in the Deep South, began to make plans to secede.

Much to Ruffin's disappointment and annoyance, Lincoln's election did not greatly weaken the strong loyalty which many Virginians felt toward the United States. Shaking the soil of his native state from his shoes, Ruffin set out for South Carolina, which appeared to be the state most likely to secede as a result of Lincoln's election.

In South Carolina Ruffin, the outspoken advocate of immediate secession, was a hero. Carrying a musket now instead of a spear, he was recognized and cheered wherever he went. At his appearance, military bands played more lustily. Cannons were fired in his honor. In the evenings he was serenaded. He was invited to address gatherings of all kinds. Not a great speaker, he often suffered from stage fright. Once he lost his train of thought while speaking and did not know what he was saying. His audience did not mind his failings as a speaker. He was praised for his "plain, unadorned oratorical style."

He was accepted into the "Minute-men" of South Carolina, military volunteers who were ready to repel a possible Northern invasion of their state. As a badge of his membership in this martial troop Ruffin wore a cockade on his hat.

As secession fever mounted in Charleston, Ruffin often referred in speeches to the timidity of his fellow Virginians. If Virginia would not secede, he threatened to change his residence to South Carolina and "abandon Virginia forever." Crowds of South Carolinians cheered him heartily.

On December 20, 1860, the great day arrived: South Carolina seceded from the Union and declared itself an "Independent Commonwealth." Ruffin asked for and received the historic pen with which the delegates had signed the declaration of secession. South Carolina's secession was followed by the secession of other states in the Deep South.

Ruffin returned to Virginia. He could not help contrasting his arrival in Richmond with his recent arrival in Charleston. There was no welcoming committee to greet him in Richmond, no address of welcome, no bands, no cannons fired. Once more he thought of the saying, "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country and in his own home."

Some progress toward secession in Virginia had been made since his last visit: a secession convention had been scheduled, but a Peace Committee had also been appointed to arrive at a compromise with the federal government.

Ruffin was determined not to spend any time in Virginia if it remained in the Union after Lincoln took office. Accordingly, a few weeks before Lincoln's inauguration, Ruffin went back to South Carolina.

Soon after Lincoln's inauguration, in March of 1861, the new President's attention was focused on Fort Sumter, a federal stronghold located in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, within

range of Southern cannon on shore. The question was: who would fire the first shot, North or South, and thereby start the Civil War?

Just before dawn on April 12, 1861, the shore batteries in Charleston harbor prepared to fire on the Union fort. In one battery Edmund Ruffin was given the honor of firing the first shot, which arched across the water and fell into the fort. The next day the garrison at Sumter ran up a white flag.

The news spread widely across the country. At the start of the Civil War had begun with a shot fired by Ruffin, who had worked so tirelessly to bring the war to pass. Thousands of copies of a portrait of the white-haired warrior, with his musket by his side, were circulated across the South.

As a result of the firing on Sumter, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to join the Union army. Three days after Sumter surrendered, Virginia seceded from the Union, and, by doing so, made it possible for Ruffin to return to his native state.

In July of 1861 Ruffin participated as a member of a South Carolina regiment in the First Battle of Bull Run, the first large battle of the war, fought in northern Virginia. His comrades let him fire a cannon at retreating Yankees.

After the Battle of Bull Run, Ruffin returned to his plantations in Virginia. He fully expected the war to be over in a few months. One Southern soldier, Ruffin believed, was a match for a dozen Yankees. But as the war continued, and the South lost important battles in the West, Ruffin became depressed.

When the Yankees invaded Tidewater Virginia, Ruffin and his sons and daughters were taken to Union army plantations. When they returned to their homes, which had been occupied by Yankee soldiers during their absence, Ruffin found senseless wreckage and obscene graffiti scrawled on the walls. His hatred of the Yankees became more intense and more bitter.

He was most disturbed by the behavior of his slaves, who had welcomed the Yankee invaders in their master's absence. After his return Ruffin found the slaves sullen, impudent, disobedient, and unwilling to work. He was incapable of believing that they really wanted to be free.

Nor could he accept Southern defeat in the war, not even after it became a certainty. Ruffin was seventy-one years old when Lee surrendered to Grant in April of 1865. Hearing news of the surrender, Ruffin ardently wished that he were a young man again, so that he could join other Southern diehards who planned to fight on against the Yankees in Texas.

Several months after the surrender Ruffin made this entry in his diary: "And now, with my latest writing of utterance, and with my heart full of rage, I hereby proclaim my unmitigated hatred to Yankee rule—to all political, social, & business connection with Yankees, & to the perfidious, malignant, & vile Yankee race."

A few minutes after making his diary entry he sat in a chair with a trunk at his feet. Propping the butt of a silver-tipped rifle on the trunk, he stuck the end of the barrel in his mouth. Using a forked stick, he pulled the trigger.

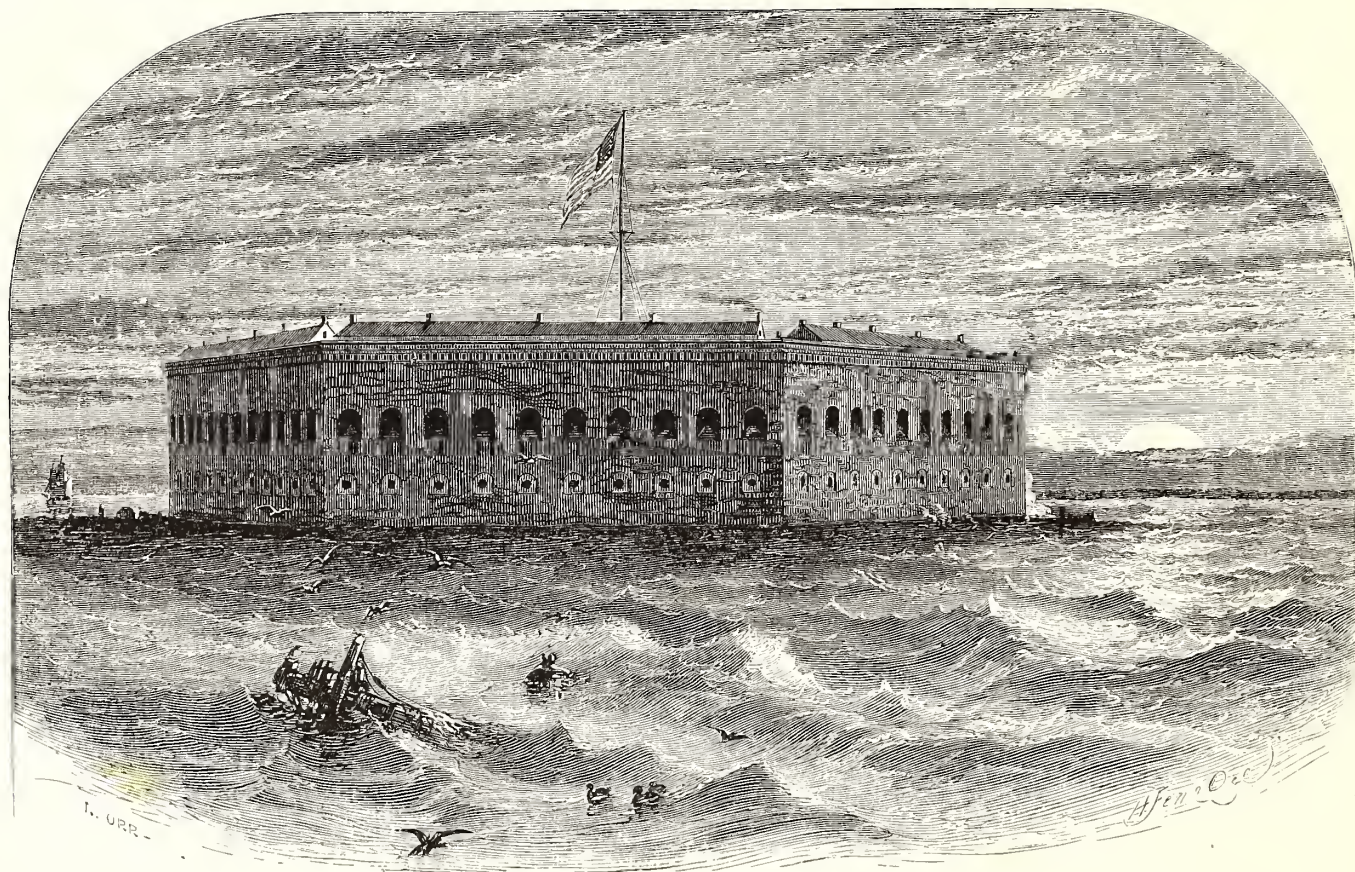
SOURCES:
Edmund Ruffin by Betty L. Mitchell, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1981.

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The bombardment of Fort Sumter.



SUNSET VIEW OF FORT SUMTER BEFORE THE BOMBARDMENT

13

12

GOOD-BYE TO FORT SUMTER 3 Feb. 1861. The thrilling story of Ft. Sumter should be read in full as given by Nicolay and Hay in their life of Lincoln. Vol. 3- pp. ⁸⁷⁻¹⁷⁴ or in the admirable treatment of this period by J. F. Rhodes, in his History of the U.S., vol. III ch. XIV. The picture is an old print depicting the departure of the women and children from the Fort.

Use Harper's Weekly 23 Feb. 1861



Card No. 1. St. Lawrence

14
13, ATTACK ON SUMTER. 12 APRIL 1861. This stirring picture suggests the situation in the Fort during the bombardment which began the Civil War. Not a life was lost in this conflict but it was the beginning of the slaughter that ~~counted~~ ^{caused both a necessity} casualties. ^{deaths. See World Almanac, 1930, p. 232.} Three days later April 15, Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers. Indecision was ended--the war had begun.

(Use Harper's Weekly 27 April. 1861)



Attack on St. Juan

History of the Gold Coast—XXIV.

The reverberations of a ten inch mortar shell bursting over Fort Sumter at 4:30 in the dark morning hours of April 12, 1861, ushered in the War of the Rebellion, and there were many vacant chairs in both cottage and mansion before the war drums ceased their throbbing and the battle flags were furled. Thruout these years of strife Chicago thrived.

To it flowed, in ever increasing volume, the grain of the prairies to be shipped in hundreds of schooners and steamboats to the east and on to Europe to help finance the long struggle. The population doubled. Then on April 14, 1865, came the shocking news of the assassination of Lincoln by a senseless egomaniac and the nation mourned.

It is likely that if Lincoln had been spared he would have become a Chicagoan. He had said that at the end of his term of office he intended to return to Illinois to practice law with Bob in either Chicago or Springfield. It is likely, also, that he would have lived in this then quiet part of the town on the north side, for here lived his closest Chicago friends; here his widow, that much maligned woman, lived for a time; here his son Tad went to the Sheldon school, and here his son Robert did make his home. Captain John.

A LEAF IN HISTORY SUPPLIED.

Why Sumter was not Relieved—The Plan of Captain Fox—Buchanan's Treachery—Treachery of Colonel Scott—A Budget of Blanders.

The intelligent reader will have no difficulty in recalling to mind the early stages of the rebellion, whereof Fort Sumter was the most conspicuous figure. There were two attempts to relieve the fort, both of which failed. With one of these, Captain Fox, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, became identified. An official report has just been published, showing what this plan was, who opposed it, and why it failed of execution. The plan of Captain Fox was to send men and provisions to the fort by boats. Of course the boats would be exposed to the rebel batteries on both sides of the harbor, but the experience of the war shows that they could easily have gone in. General Scott first favored it, but became convinced that the enterprise was a desperate one, and opposed it. President Buchanan also feared to give the project his sanction. When Mr. Lincoln became President the scheme to relieve Sumter was renewed, and Captain Fox visited Washington to see about it. He says he found "there was great opposition to any attempt at relieving Fort Sumter, and that Mr. Blair alone sustained the President in his policy of refusing to yield." The expression of Captain Fox is not clear, but we suppose he means that Mr. Blair was the only member of the Cabinet who agreed with Mr. Lincoln that Fort Sumter should not be surrendered without a struggle. Under Mr. Lincoln's instructions he visited the fort. On the way to Charleston he traveled with a former Southern Member of Congress, and at Florence Station they met Lawrence M. Keitt. Captain Fox says:

"He welcomed Mr. Holmes very warmly, and inquired with great anxiety whether Sumter was to be given up. Mr. Holmes said: 'Yes, I know it,' which seemed to give Mr. Keitt rough satisfaction, but he insisted upon knowing his authority. Mr. Holmes said: 'I have the highest authority for what I say,' and upon Mr. Keitt again asking 'Who?' he leaned toward him. At that moment the engine whistle gave a screech for starting, so that the conversation closed, and I lost the name." "If it had not been for the inopportune blowing of that whistle, we should now be in possession of an important item of secret history. Captain Fox was convinced, at Fort Sumter, that his plan was practicable, but he did not concert matters with Major Anderson. He learned from Anderson, however, that the 15th of April was the time, beyond which, if supplies were not furnished, the fort could not be held, it was resolved to make the attempt to supply it. The recollection of the excitement made throughout the country by Captain Fox's preparations in New York, must recur to millions very vividly, in thinking over the events of the period. Colonel H. L. Scott, Aid of General Scott, caused the expedition a half day's delay. He proved to be a rebel sympathizer, and is suspected of having served the rebels as a spy. When the expedition arrived off Charleston the bombardment had already commenced. An attempt would have been made to send reinforcements, but, in the first place, there was a

very heavy sea. Then, the Powhatan sloop-of-war was not sent, though promised, being detained by "superior authority." The Powhatan carried the sailors and launches that were essential to the execution of the plan. The failure of the Powhatan was owing to an order, inadvertently signed by Mr. Lincoln, authorizing Lieutenant D. D. Porter to take any vessel of the Government and proceed to the Gulf of Mexico. Porter took the Powhatan. The steam-tugs that were engaged, and that were to form a part of the expedition, did not come to hand in time, it was too late. Captain Ryan, of the Pawnee, on nearing Charleston, was to fight with his ship, but overruled. The expedition, as everybody knows, did not accomplish anything, and was only important as showing that the authorities were not disposed to allow the secessionists to continue their work unopposed. The following letter from President Lincoln closes this chapter of official history:

PRESIDENT LINCOLN TO CAPTAIN FOX.

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1861.

"Captain G. V. Fox:

"MY DEAR SIR: I sincerely regret that the failure of the late attempt to provision Fort Sumter should be the source of any annoyance to you. The practicability of your plan was not, in fact, brought to a test. By reason of a gale, well known in advance to be possible, and not improbable, the tugs, an essential part of the plan, never reached the ground, while, by an accident, for which you were in no wise responsible, and possibly I to some extent was, you were deprived of a war vessel, with her men, which you deemed of great importance to the enterprise.

"I most cheerfully and truthfully declare that the failure of the undertaking has not lowered you a particle, while the qualities you developed in the effort have greatly heightened you in my estimation. For a daring or dangerous enterprise, of a similar character, you would, to-day, be the man, of all my acquaintances, whom I would select. You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter, even if it should fail; and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result.

Very truly, your friend,

"A. LINCOLN."

